

CIACRS
Angola's Potential Leaders

BR 75-66

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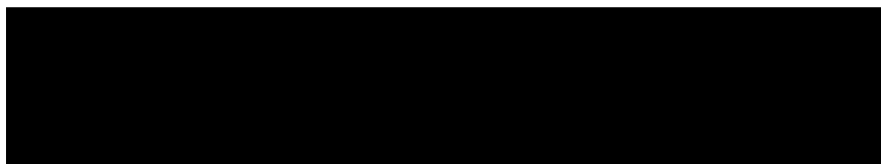
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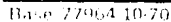
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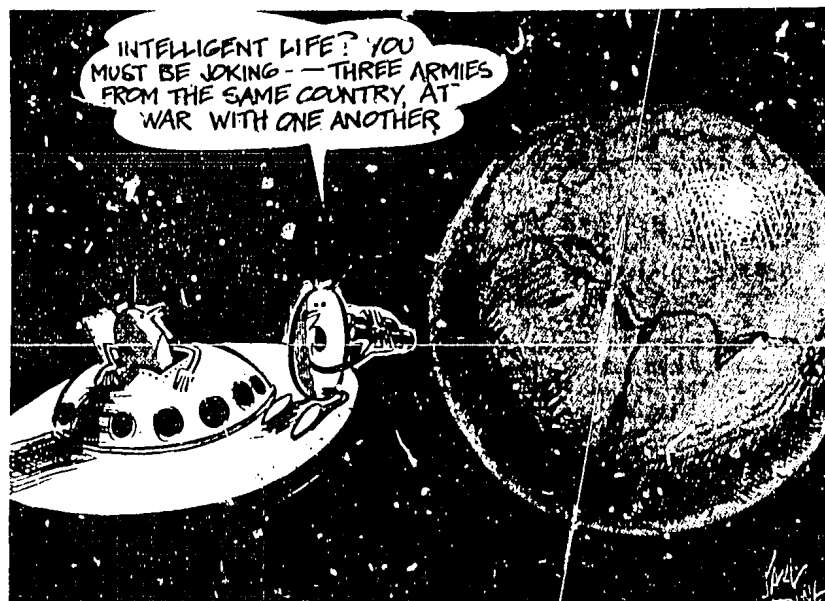
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PREFACE

Angola, the oldest, richest and largest of the former Portuguese African colonies, received its independence on 11 November 1975. The birth of this nation, however, has not been as smooth as that of Guinea-Bissau (independent in September 1974) and Mozambique (in June 1975), both former Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese made an effort to set up a ruling coalition, the Transitional Government of Angola, in January 1975. It had a Presidential Council of three men, one from each of Angola's three major liberation groups--the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). The longstanding rivalries between the groups proved to be irreconcilable, however, and fighting among them intensified in mid-1975 as the independence date approached. The Transitional Government was abandoned in July, and Angola came to independence in a state of civil war.



The Natal Mercury, June 1975

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The FNLA and the MPLA were set upon a military solution to determine who would govern. The UNITA, which preferred a political solution, delayed entering the fighting and worked for about a month to effect a reconciliation among the liberation groups. During July-August the MPLA—with an influx of Soviet arms and assistance—drove the FNLA out of Luanda and made successful incursions into FNLA and UNITA territory. By August MPLA attacks on UNITA troops forced the UNITA to join the FNLA in a military alliance against the MPLA. By October the MPLA was claiming to hold 12 of Angola's 16 district capitals. Stepped-up action by the FNLA and UNITA—with foreign assistance—enabled those two groups to retake a significant part of their areas, and by 21 November the MPLA actually controlled only three district capitals and one entire district. At the end of November, however, the military advantage appeared to be returning to the MPLA, whose troops were again making progress in UNITA and FNLA territory.

After independence two governments were announced. The MPLA formed the People's Republic of Angola (PRA), based in Luanda, and on 14 November named a Cabinet. This government has been recognized by the USSR, several Eastern European Communist states, Brazil and several African States.

The other government—the Democratic Republic of Angola (DRA)—is based in Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa) and is a coalition government formed by the UNITA and the FNLA. It is shaky at best and is no more than a marriage of convenience. Disagreement on who would lead the government and which group would control which portfolio delayed the formation of a Cabinet until 23 November. As announced at that time, the DRA has a Revolutionary Council that is empowered to represent the nation, safeguard independence and territorial integrity, enforce laws, conduct elections, declare war and make peace. It also has a Cabinet and a joint military command. The Cabinet includes two nominated prime ministers (one from each liberation movement), holding office in alternating months; 13 ministers; and three secretaries of state. Each movement appoints to the military command a chief of staff, who presides over that body in alternating months; when the FNLA holds the prime ministry, the UNITA will head the military command.

No nation has yet recognized this government. The African countries that have supported the UNITA and the FNLA are among the more moderate African states and have been prevented from recognizing the DRA by a recommendation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU): that no African country recognize a government in Angola unless it is a coalition government of all

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three liberation groups. Several African states that might have supported the FNLA/UNITA coalition have been troubled by the recent revelations that South Africans are fighting with the UNITA forces; this information led Nigeria to recognize the MPLA rather than observe the OAU recommendation.

Adding to Angola's problems is the question of the oil-rich enclave of Cabinda. The Portuguese administered Cabinda from Luanda, but some inhabitants of the enclave—supported by neighboring African states—claim that it was not a genuine union and that Cabinda should now be independent of Angola. In the 1960's they formed the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda (FLEC); small though it is, this group too has suffered from factionalism.

The conflicts among the liberation groups are of long standing and can be traced to a tangle of differences—tribal, traditional, urban-rural, regional, and ideological.

FNLA

The power base of the FNLA is among the Bakongo people in northern Angola, who number about 700,000 and have tribal affinities with peoples across the border in Zaire. The FNLA was created in 1962 by the merger of three groups: the Bakongo nationalists; the Democratic Party of Angola (PDA), a self-help association created in 1944 and dominated by the Bazombo tribe; and the Angolan Peoples' Union (UPA), the largest of the three. The UPA was organized in 1957 and started the Angolan military action against the Portuguese with unsuccessful uprisings in March 1961.

Until about 1974 the FNLA probably had the largest armed forces; it operated in northern and eastern Angola. FNLA headquarters are in Kinshasa, Zaire; since July 1975 FNLA president Holden Roberto has been with his troops in Angola, based in the northern town of Ambriz. Another major FNLA center is Carmona, also in the north. Over the years the FNLA has received backing from such diverse sources as the People's Republic of China, North Korea, Zaire, Algeria, Tunisia, Nigeria, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Romania, the United States, Belgium, France, the World Council of Churches, and the OAU.

MPLA

The power base of the MPLA is among the Kimbundu people, who number about a million and inhabit the Lunda and Malanje districts, the most important economically and the political-administrative center of Angola. It is a multiracial party whose membership includes whites, mulattoes and blacks. The MPLA

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was formed with the merger of several nationalist groups in 1956 but did not begin military operations against the Portuguese until about 1965. This group has concentrated its efforts in the northeast and in some of the more sparsely populated areas of eastern Angola.

The MPLA has had several headquarters: during 1961-62 it was based in Conakry, Guinea; during 1963 in Kinshasa, Zaire; and during 1963-75 in Brazzaville, Congo. Now its headquarters are in Luanda, the Angolan capital. Over the years the MPLA has had the backing of the USSR and the Eastern European countries; Cuba; Tanzania, Mozambique and the Congo; the OAU; numerous Communist-front organizations; and several European Communist parties. It has received extensive Soviet arms, generally via the Congo. Cuban troops have joined its forces in the present conflict with the FNLA and UNITA.

The MPLA has suffered from numerous divisions. The authoritarian leadership of its president, Agostinho Neto, has alienated some subordinates, and the personal ambitions of a number of others have caused other divisions. The multiracial character of the MPLA has not been a source of strength. The blacks have noticed that they do most of the fighting, while the better educated mulattoes hold the party's leadership posts, and black resentment has been a serious divisive problem.

In 1973 factionalism led to the creation of two splinter groups. The Active Revolt Faction, based in Brazzaville until 1975 (when it moved to Luanda), is a small group of intellectuals, students and professional men who broke away because they wished to democratize the party and replace Neto. The Eastern Revolt Faction is composed largely of the troops of the military commander Daniel Chipenda. Chipenda was an MPLA vice president before he split; he is personally ambitious, but he claims that his main objection to Neto's leadership was the MPLA's heavy dependence upon the USSR. In April 1975 Chipenda merged his faction into the FNLA.

UNITA

The power base of the UNITA is in southern Angola among the Ovimbundu people—Angola's largest tribe, numbering about 2 million. It also includes the rural Chokwe and Nganguela people of the sparsely populated east and south. The newest of Angola's liberation groups, UNITA was formed in 1966. Its nucleus was a group of Ovimbundu who had belonged to the FNLA but left in 1964 because FNLA policies were dominated by the Bakongo.

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Over the years UNITA has had difficulty locating foreign financial assistance. It was unable to mount any military action against the Portuguese for several years, and when it did start to fight it had so few armed men that it could only conduct small raids against Portuguese installations in southeastern Angola. First based in Lusaka, Zambia, UNITA was expelled in mid-1967 because of Portuguese economic reprisals against Zambia and moved its headquarters temporarily to Cairo. In 1968 headquarters were established in Angolan territory. During the 1970's UNITA received some aid from the People's Republic of China, Zambia, and the World Council of Churches. In 1975 it also received either support or financial assistance from such diverse states as Senegal, Zaire, South Africa, France and Romania. Much of the success of UNITA's forces during the November 1975 fighting was due to the South Africans that were assisting in its drive through the south toward Luanda.

A number of moderate African leaders favor UNITA president Jonas Savimbi as a compromise candidate for the Presidency of Angola.

FLEC

FLEC, the Cabindan separatist movement, has been relatively ineffective and appears to be little more than a puppet of Cabinda's two neighbors, Zaire and the Congo. It was formed in Brazzaville in the early 1960's, with the goal of total independence from both Portugal and Angola.

Since 1974 there have been two FLEC factions—one based in Kinshasa and the other across the river in Brazzaville. The Kinshasa Faction is apparently the original FLEC movement. The Brazzaville Faction was formed in June 1974, when a group of FLEC members merged with the Democratic Union of the Peoples of Angola and the Movement of Cabindan People. In August 1975 the Congolese Government ended its support for this faction and gave its undivided support to the MPLA, which does not recognize Cabinda's right to independence. In October Auguste Tchoufou, head of FLEC's Brazzaville faction, fled to Kinshasa, where he was allegedly going to sign an unspecified "important document." Some observers felt that a reconciliation agreement between the two factions might be under way. The Kinshasa-based faction, the original FLEC movement, receives support from the Zairian Government. It has recently been training troops in Zaire and infiltrating them across Zaire's border into Cabinda. In July 1975, at the OAU Conference in Kampala, the Kinshasa-based faction announced the establishment of a Cabindan government and named a Cabinet.

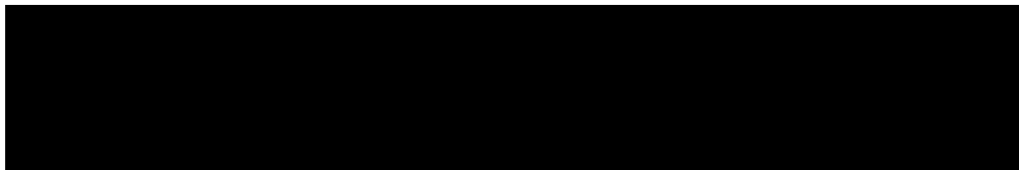
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OFFICIALS OF THE MAJOR
LIBERATION GROUPS

FNLA

Daniel CHIPENDA
Johnny EDUARDO Pinnock
N'Gola KABANGU
Hendrik Vaal NETO
Holden ROBERTO

MPLA

Nito ALVES (Bernardo Batista)
Joaquim de ANDRADE
Mario de ANDRADE
João CAETANO
Henrique CARREIRA
José EDUARDO
Paulo JORGE
Lucio LARA
Lopo do NASCIMENTO
(Antonio) Agostinho NETO

UNITA

Samuel CHIWALE
José NDELE
Miguel Nzau PUNA
Jorge SANGUMBA
Jonas SAVIMBI
Antonio VAKULUKUTA
Jorge VALENTIM

FLEC

Luis Ranque FRANQUE
Auguste TCHIOUFOU

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